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subsidiary aid to the full understanding of the ancient ; and our scholars will find it hard, if not impossible, to pronounce the one like a living language, without extending that pronunciation to the other.

We look for much instruction from the native scholars of Greece. We doubt not the beauties of classic literature will be more learnedly and fully displayed than they have ever yet been. There must be in the scenery of the country, in the modes of thought, expressions, customs, traditions of the people, an immense amount of interesting and important illustration. And as to verbal criticism, and conjectural emendation of corrupted passages, who would not prefer the native tact and the sure feeling of a born Greek, to the learned guesses of the ablest commentator in any German University ?

ART. V. — *Biographies of Wayne and Vane.*

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by
JARED SPARKS. Vol. IV.

THE preceding volumes of this miscellany have been noticed in our journal. We learn with satisfaction, that it will be continued. The volumes, which have hitherto appeared, present an interesting and instructive variety of historical and biographical research. A work conducted on the plan of the library of American biography occupies an important middle ground, between a biographical dictionary and a history. It affords a convenient vehicle for information relative to distinguished individuals and memorable occurrences, which might run into too great length, for the opposite purposes either of a biographical dictionary or a general history. The experience of all ages has pronounced in favor of works of this description. Plutarch's parallel lives may be considered as their representative specimen, and perhaps for all classes of readers, Plutarch's lives is as great a favorite as any work ever composed, the bible excepted.

The present volume of the biographical library contains less variety than some of its predecessors, but it is equally valuable. A memoir of Anthony Wayne occupies the first portion of it, but the greater part of the volume is devoted to a life of

Sir Henry Vane. The life of Wayne is from the pen of General John Armstrong. It is a narrative of great interest. The grandfather of General Wayne, bearing also the name of Anthony Wayne, emigrated from England to Ireland in 1681, where he established himself as a farmer. He fought on the popular side, at the battle of the Boyne. Not satisfied with the government which he had contributed to establish, nor with the manners of the people among whom he had settled himself, he removed from Ireland to Pennsylvania in the year 1722, at the age of sixty-three years. He established his family in Chester county, where on the first of January 1745, his grandson and namesake, the general Anthony Wayne of the American army, was born. He was the only son of his father, Isaac Wayne, and was sent to school to his uncle Gilbert. Almost all that is known of his boyish days is contained in a letter from Gilbert the uncle, to Isaac the father, of the youthful chieftain, in which the former expresses himself in no very promising terms of his pupil. "I verily suspect," says he, "that parental affection blinds you; and that you have mistaken your son's capacity. What he may be the best qualified for, I know not; but one thing I am certain of, he will never make a scholar. He may make a soldier; he has already distracted the brains of two thirds of the boys, under my direction, by rehearsals of battles, sieges, &c. They exhibit more the appearance of Indians and Harlequins than of students; this one, decorated with a cap of many colors; and others habited in coats as variegated as Joseph's of old; some laid up with broken heads and others with black eyes. During noon, in place of the usual games and amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing, &c. I must be candid with you, brother Isaac; unless Anthony pays more attention to his books, I shall be under the painful necessity of dismissing him from the school."—

The writer of this sketch of the life of the future hero regards the foregoing letter as a hasty report, "and far from prophetic in its forebodings." But it really strikes us as an extraordinary instance of foresight as to future character. We read "mad Anthony" in every line; and if such a thing as phrenology had existed in Chester county, in the middle of the last century, and worthy Mr. Gilbert Wayne had been an adept in that noble science, we should suppose, that he must have found, on the cranium of the youthful hero, language mod-

erate, combativeness large, and made his report accordingly. The account of the uncle drew forth an earnest and affectionate remonstrance from the father. Anthony returned to school with the best resolutions; abandoned his redoubts and skirmishes, stuck to his books, and in the words of our author, "at the end of eighteen months, not only satisfied his teacher that he possessed a capacity for scholarship, but even drew from him a confession, that 'having acquired all, that his master could teach, he merited the means of higher and more general instruction.'"

His father was not slow in acting on this more favorable estimate of his son's capacity, and the young Anthony was accordingly sent to the Philadelphia academy to complete his education. There he remained till his eighteenth year, when, having acquired a competent knowledge of the lower branches of the mathematics, he returned to his native county, and opened an office as a land surveyor.

After the peace of 1763, a land company was formed at Philadelphia, with a view to the settlement of a portion of the back country. Young Wayne, then in his twenty-first year, was selected, on the recommendation of Dr. Franklin, as the agent to visit the territory, inspect the soil in reference to its agricultural character and commercial facilities, and finally to *locate* the settlement. He acquitted himself in this trust so much to the satisfaction of his employers, as to be still farther entrusted by them, with the actual superintendence of the infant settlement; which, however, was broken up in 1767, by the increasing embarrassment of the relations of the Colonies with the mother country. In the course of this year, young Wayne married the daughter of Benjamin Penrose, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, and, returning to Chester county, resumed his occupation as a surveyor, devoting himself, in the intervals of his employment in that capacity, to agriculture.

Wayne was prompt in foreseeing the issue of the controversy with England, which had now reached its height. The military passion of his youth revived. He gave himself wholly up to preparation for the impending crisis, and devoted his time to the instruction, in tactics and drill, of the voluntary associations of Chester county. Such was their aptitude and his diligence, that in the space of six weeks, he had organized a volunteer corps, "having more the appearance of a veteran than of a militia regiment."

These indications of military talent and a patriotic spirit at-

tracted the public notice. In January, 1776, Mr. Wayne was appointed to the command of one of the four regiments raised by Pennsylvania, in the continental service. He was ordered to join the northern army under Major General Sullivan. He commanded one of the three regiments, detached under General Thompson, for the unsuccessful expedition to Trois Rivières on the 3d of July ; and on the capture of the commander in chief, General St. Clair, the next senior officer being disabled by a wound, the duty of conducting the retreat devolved on Wayne. Though wounded himself, he performed this duty successfully, and brought the greater part of the brigade back to the American camp at the mouth of the Sorel. On the forced retreat of General Sullivan from this post, the duty of covering the movement was assigned to Wayne with the Pennsylvania regiments, and so critical was it in point of time, that the boat latest in getting into motion was not beyond the reach of musket shot, when the head of the enemy's column entered the fort.

The army remained at Ticonderoga the rest of the year 1776 ; and on the march of General Gates, with a large portion of the men under his command, to reinforce General Washington, Col. Wayne was left in command, with two thousand five hundred men. This arrangement was sanctioned by Congress, who soon conferred on him a commission as Brigadier General. He remained in command of the fortress till the spring of 1777, when at his own request he was transferred to head-quarters. He joined the main army under General Washington on the 15th of May, and was immediately placed at the head of a brigade, "which," as Washington remarked on the occasion, "could not fail, under his direction to be soon greatly distinguished."

This prediction was shortly fulfilled. In the movements and manœuvres of the early part of the summer of 1777, directed by Washington to countervail the demonstrations of the British army, General Wayne bore a conspicuous part, and received the public commendation of the commander-in-chief, in his report to Congress. At the battle of Brandywine, General Wayne was posted at Chad's ford, and sustained a vigorous attack by the troops under Knyphausen. He maintained his position with great gallantry, till learning the defeat of the American force in his rear, he deemed it necessary to fall back on the main army. In the affair of the 20th, the conduct of

Wayne was impeached by a subordinate, to whose own failure to perform his duty the losses of the night were imputable ; but the Court Martial, which Wayne demanded, acquitted him with honor. In the unfortunate battle of Germantown, General Wayne bore a prominent part, and his own conduct and that of his brigade were mentioned with applause by the commander-in-chief, in his official despatch. In the following winter, General Wayne rendered essential service, by the successful manner in which he conducted the foraging department ; a branch of duty rendered as difficult as it was odious, by the necessity of resorting to force, in the entire exhaustion of the military chest. In the battle of Monmouth, the conduct of Wayne was marked by Washington, with particular expressions of approbation. The summer of 1779 was signalized by the capture of Stony-point, achieved by Wayne, at the head of a light brigade, organized at the commencement of the campaign. This affair is pronounced by General Armstrong the most brilliant of the war. It acquired to the fortunate commander a military reputation of the most enviable character. At the commencement of the attack, Wayne was struck by a musket-ball on the head and sunk to the ground. He immediately rose on one knee, and exclaimed, " march on, carry me into the fort ; for, should the wound be mortal, I will die at the head of the column."

The author of this biography has taken renewed occasion of the narrative of the capture of Stony-point, to correct the alleged errors of the late Chief Justice of the United States. We confess ourselves not wholly gratified with the tone, in which these corrections are made. In the present case, as the statement of Marshall is substantially a repetition of that of Washington, in his despatch to Congress of the 20th of June 1779, the effect of the correction appears to be to impugn the accuracy of Washington, in a statement of facts necessarily within his own knowledge. In the body of that despatch Washington makes the statement explicitly, and repeats it in the postscript, that, owing to some misconception on the part of General Wayne, of the officers of the guard, or of Captain Fishbourn, the despatches of Wayne to Washington, containing the intelligence of the capture of Stony-point, were not forwarded to General M'Dougall. This failure is declared by Washington to have occasioned a loss of several hours, and is mentioned by him as one of the causes, why the projected attack on

Verplanck's point did not take place. General Armstrong, in citing the passage of Marshall on which he comments, does not cite it as it stands, either in the first or second edition ; and his statement accurately quoted, does not appear to us obnoxious to all the exceptions, which the biographer takes to it ; and where it is, it appears to us to be borne out by Washington's despatch already alluded to.

The next service rendered by Wayne, was the attack of Fort Lee on the 21st of July, 1780, and with this affair the active service of the campaign closed. In the following winter, and at the close of the festivities of the 1st of January, 1781, the memorable revolt broke out in the Pennsylvania line, threatening the most disastrous consequences. The address and temper of General Wayne were signally manifested, in bringing the troops to a sense of their duty, and arranging the terms of the accommodation.

In the summer of this year, General Wayne acted under the orders of Lafayette in the campaign in Virginia, which preceded the capitulation of Yorktown. In an affair on the 5th of July, when he unexpectedly found himself, with a small force, opposed to the whole British army, and about to be turned on both flanks, by a bold onset, as happily conceived as gallantly executed, he threw the enemy at once on the defensive, compelled him to call in his detachments, and then by a rapid retreat, extricated himself from the imminent danger of losing his whole corps.

General Wayne had an active command in the army concentrated at Yorktown, and shared in the honor of the glorious event there consummated. In the month of December following, notwithstanding a wound received in the Virginia campaign, he was detached by General Greene, with a small force, to hold the enemy in check, and to establish the authority of the United States in Georgia. The manner in which he performed this duty, with a force greatly disproportioned to the seeming magnitude of the work to be performed, is truly admirable. The British were shut up within Savannah, the open country wrested from the Tories, the auxiliary force of Choctaws and Creeks successively defeated, and all the objects of the campaign effected with singular success. General Wayne remained on this station till the close of the war, and finally granted a capitulation to the garrison of Savannah, honorable to his own clemency and advantageous to the country.

On the conclusion of the peace, he retired to his native county of Chester, with a reputation for bravery, enterprise, and conduct, not perhaps surpassed by that of any of his brother officers.

He was soon elected to the Council of Censors of Pennsylvania, and afterwards a member of the Convention, which was called to revise and amend the Constitution of the State. He performed the duties thus devolved upon him, with laborious assiduity; but for private reasons, withdrew from any farther pursuit of public life. A large grant of land was made to him by the State of Georgia, in consideration of his great services there rendered, at the close of the war; but the unfortunate donation proved a source of serious and long continued embarrassment, which ended only with the sacrifice of the property.

After ten years' retirement, Gen. Wayne was again called to the field. Hostilities, as is well known, had never ceased on the western frontier. A cruel border war had been waged between the settlers and the Indians; and the expeditions of Harmar and St. Clair had successively terminated in disaster. In the year 1793, after a vain resort, for the last time, to negotiation, preparations were made by the general government for another appeal to arms. Wayne was placed in command of the force called into the field; but it was not till mid-summer 1794, that he was enabled to take up his march from Cincinnati. On the 8th of August, he reached the spot where the Indian and Canadian force was concentrated, at the junction of the Auglaize and the Miami of the Lake. On the 19th he attacked them in their entrenchments, from which, with a small loss on his own side, he drove the enemy with great slaughter. Pursuing his advantage, he penetrated the Indian country to Greenville, laying waste the territory of the enemy. Taught by their experience the impolicy of continuing the war, the savages were brought to reasonable terms of pacification, by a treaty of which the basis was settled on the 1st of January 1795, and which was definitely concluded in the course of the following summer. From this treaty, may be dated the efficient settlement of the territory North West of the Ohio.

The biography before us terminates with this event, and in the following terms:—

“Plaudits and thanks, public and private, now accumulated upon Wayne. The Congress, then in session, unanimously

adopted resolutions highly complimentary to the General and the whole army. The President of the United States conveyed to him expressions of the warmest approbation and the highest respect. His entry into Philadelphia was triumphal. All business in the city was suspended; he was met on his approach by its militia in mass, and conducted through the streets amidst the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon, and the acclamations of a grateful people. Such was the spontaneous burst of public admiration; and such the high evidence of the universal sense entertained of the important services he had rendered. Nor, (if estimated by the number and character of the benefits they conferred on the nation,) will it be thought that these were overrated. Besides putting an end to a war, brutal as bloody, and waged without the smallest respect for age or sex throughout our western frontier, they had the further effect of quieting Indian excitement in both the north and the south; of opening to a civilized population the fine region, which had been the theatre of the late hostilities; and of eventually adding to this a large territory equally inviting to settlement and culture. A farther and most useful effect was to allay the feverish and factious feeling at home; which, availing itself of the unfortunate issue of Harmar's and St. Clair's campaigns, had gone far to shake the confidence of the people in the executive branch of the government; while, abroad, it hastened the execution of the pending negotiation with Great Britain; by which, the American posts, so long and pertinaciously held by that power, were at last given up.

"Appointed by the government sole commissioner for treating with the North-western Indians, and receiver of the military posts given up by the British government, General Wayne again returned to the West; and, after a prompt and faithful discharge of the duties attached to these new functions, while descending Lake Erie from Detroit, was attacked by the gout, which in a few days put an end to his life and his labors. His remains, temporarily buried on the shore of the Lake, were removed by his son in 1809 to the cemetery of St. David's Church, in Chester county, Pennsylvania; where a monument, raised to his memory by his comrades of the revolution, exhibits the following inscriptions.

"*North Front.* — Major-General ANTHONY WAYNE was born at Waynesborough, in Chester County, State of Pennsylvania, A. D. 1745. After a Life of Honor and Usefulness, he died in December, 1796, at a military Post on the Shore of Lake Erie, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States. His military Achievements are Consecrated in the History of his Country, and in the Hearts of his Countrymen. His Remains are here deposited.

“South Front.—In Honor of the distinguished Military Services of MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE, and as an affectionate Tribute of Respect to his Memory, this Stone was erected by his Companions in Arms, the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, July 4th, A. D. 1809, Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Independence of the United States; an Event which constitutes the most appropriate Eulogium of an American Soldier and Patriot.”—pp. 78—81.

And now shift we the scene; from the cemetery of St. David's and the peaceful resting-place of a revolutionary officer, to Towerhill and the bloody scaffold of a murdered witness of the truth;—from the glorious battle fields of the war of independence;—from Brandywine and from Yorktown, where Wayne, in defence of American liberty is found at the head of his division in the army, in which the militant hopes of the awakened continent, the allied armies of France, and the brave adventurers of half Europe, are assembled, —to the cradle of New England,—the little band of austere and high-souled patriots,—founders of the republic,—agitating the great questions, which disturbed their entire Commonwealth, at a period when its whole population might have been bestowed on one of the large islands in Boston harbor. The scenes are laid on the same continent. A span of time only has intervened. The mighty unities of time and of place are preserved, in this stupendous drama, and the ACTION, in its great principles, is also one; but what mighty expansion of interests what a marvellous chain of events, what an unexampled a connection of feeble beginnings, with a consummation, to which even we who have witnessed it, strive in vain to do justice!

On the third of March 1635, a young nobleman, but lately arrived in Boston from old England, was admitted to the freedom of the colony. He has come, a youth of twenty-three years of age, to a region, where a purely scriptural respect for age is a leading trait of character,—a fixed point of manners. Not closely associated with the founders of the colony before their emigration, he follows them across the ocean, after an interval of five years, and when the services, the hardships, and the experience of the first lustre, would seem naturally to entitle the active leaders of the great undertaking to a preference, which no new comer, at the eleventh hour, could possibly expect to surmount. Nevertheless, a twelvemonth has scarcely passed away, before the Winthrops, the Dudleys the Endi-

cotts, the Haynes are set aside, and the youthful stranger, at the age of twenty-four, is chosen governor of the colony. It is plain from this fact, that he must be no common personage. The proverbial *notionalness* of the Boston folks did not surely go the length of thus taking up the last new comer, merely as such. When we look into the English books, we find his name buried almost, it is true, under the bloody ruins of the scaffold, where he shed his blood, and we discern something, amounting almost to a conspiracy against his fame, among the popular writers of his own and following times; but one or two bright witnesses reveal the truth and vindicate the choice of our ancestors. Milton's single sonnet is of itself a charter of immortal renown; and the testimony of Sir James Mackintosh, after the interval of a century and a half, stamps upon that charter the seal of time, of posterity, and of truth. The caprice of the little colony was the prompt perception of merit. The leaders of New England were not disparaged, but temporarily set aside, for one

“ young in years, but yet in counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome.”

When the people called him, hardly a resident of the country, hardly a citizen of age, to the chief magistracy of the colony, they paid not a servile homage to an emigrating scion of nobility; but a just tribute to a mind of the highest order; — a bold spirit which had sought liberty, on the outer verge of the habitable world, at an age when, in most men, the deep ground swell of the stormy passions has not yet begun its heaving. With that sharpness of perception, which springs from extremities of fortune, strangeness of circumstances, and conscious purity of purpose, they saw at once the man, to whom Sir James Mackintosh has ascribed “one of the most profound minds, that ever existed, not inferior perhaps to Bacon;” — and if not inferior to Bacon in the intellectual, how vastly above him in the moral properties of a man! —

Mr. Upham, in the biography before us, has discharged the debt of long delayed justice to this extraordinary person; another brilliant instance of the “*sera numinis justitia*.” The judgment of Sir James Mackintosh, pronounced in 1819, at a public meeting in London, and afterwards more emphatically reported by an American traveller from his memoranda of Sir James's conver-

sation, and given to the world, in the pages of this our journal, may be considered as the indication of a great re-discovery of a noble character, almost lost to fame. It is like the report of the scientific geologist, that, in the dark caverns of the earth, he has discovered a fossil fragment of some gigantic but perished animal. "His works," says Sir James, "which are theological, are extremely rare, and display astonishing powers. They are remarkable, as containing *the first direct assertion of the LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE!*" From this doctrine no doubt, Sir James argued to the profundity of his intellect and to the wonder of his powers. He had disinterred from one of the rare volumes of Vane's theological writings that glorious truth. It was but one bone of the buried behemoth, but the skilful eye of the philosopher could discover in it the whole form of the *megatherium*. Mr. Upham, with affectionate assiduity, with a research animated and guided by a congenial enthusiasm for liberty and for truth, has gone farther and gathered up from their dispersion all the mangled and scattered members; has reproduced us not a single fragment but the entire and noble form; not the mere outline, the dry skeleton of a great character, but the perfect speaking man. He has restored to America and to England, to the cause of freedom and truth, the name of a glorious champion, whom his own succeeding times had almost left to perish.

We hail the happy omen. The time cannot be distant, when that whole chapter of English history, the age of the puritans, will be written with new perceptions of its connexion with the great cause of free government, of liberty of conscience, and political reform. Nothing can be narrower, less generous, less philosophical, than the tone, in which those lofty spirits have been alternately assailed and defended. The English of the present day, who owe it to the Puritans that they are not tossed, like a shuttlecock, from the pikes of an enraged populace to the bayonets of a military police, as their neighbors in France, hurry over the history of the commonwealth with a kind of compassionate or supercilious *non-chalance*; and even we, we, to our shame be it said, we, descendants of that noble stock; we, sprung from the best blood of that high-souled race, we are eternally tasking our wits to find apologies and excuses for our fathers. Apologies for the asserters of the liberty of conscience; excuses for the men that invented representative government; and broke the iron yoke of feudalism!

Exquisite degeneracy ; dainty unworthiness of our origin ! What, could Burke himself, loyal to the core, — with the streaming horrors of the French revolution before his eyes, and wrought by them to a political, and almost to a physical phrenzy, could even he say of the leaders of the great English rebellion, “ whilst they attempted or affected changes in the commonwealth, they *sanctified* their ambition, by advancing the dignity of the people whose peace they troubled. They had long views. They aimed at the rule not at the destruction of their country. They were men of great civil and great military talents, and if the terror, the ornament of their age. The compliment made to one of the great bad men of the old stamp, (Cromwell,) by his kinsman, a favorite poet of that time, shews what it was he proposed, and what indeed to a great degree he accomplished, in the success of his ambition :

“ Still as *you* rise, the *State*, exalted too,
Finds no distemper, while, 'tis changed by *you* ;
Changed like the world's great scene, when without noise,
The rising sun night's vulgar lights destroys.”

These disturbers were not so much like men usurping power, as asserting their natural place in society. Their rising was to illuminate and beautify the world. Their conquest over their competitors was by outshining them. The hand, that, like a destroying angel, smote the country, communicated to it the force and energy under which it suffered ! — Abstract from this splendid eulogium, the qualifications manifestly attached to the praise, to the end that the praise might be forgiven by himself and his age, and what a tribute remains ! — Cromwell and the men with whom and by whom he subverted the British monarchy, sanctifying their ambition by promoting the dignity of the state, men of great civil as well as great military talent, the ornament of their age ; proposing as they rose to elevate their country with them, and to a great degree effecting what they proposed ; not so much the usurpers of the places of other men, as asserters of their own ; illuminating and beautifying the world, as the rising sun illuminates and adorns the heavens ; outshining not trampling down their competitors ; — and if they smote their country like a destroying angel, imparting to it at the same time, the force and energy of the destroyer, to smite down and blast its enemies ! And shall this be said of Cromwell and his peers, — this by Burke ; — this at

the height of the panic of the French Revolution; this in a discourse intended as a warning cry, a *vox clamantis*, to rouse England and Europe into a crusade against revolutionary France! And shall we, the citizens of a free republic, founded by the long suffering puritans, the inhabitants of a mighty continent, by their nerve and counsel added to the civilized world; shall we who live in an age when even the heaven-defying horrors of that French revolution begin to be partly forgotten, in the brilliant development of power and talent which it occasioned; begin to be in some measure excused, for the ages of crying oppression which preceded it; begin to be in no small degree atoned for, by the civil regeneration of feudal Europe to which it gave the impulse; shall we, while the whole civilized world, struggling on triumphant, with joyous strides or convulsive starts, is shaping its institutions of civil polity more and more upon the principles first practically set forth and exemplified by our puritan fathers; — shall we, being what we are, and whence we are, and where we are, shall we basely qualify the homage due to these illustrious shades? The men who were faithful when Cromwell and his associates were faithless? Miserable prudery! Why do we not boldly and roundly, without strain or qualification vindicate their fame; defend their characters, and assert that their very faults were the instruments, with which Providence vouchsafed to accomplish this great work? “They were dark and austere;” they needed to be; the children of sunshine would have drooped and fainted under the terrors and gloom of the enterprise. “They persecuted those who differed from them.” They had a right to do that, which is falsely called persecuting those who differed from them. The man, who possesses the power at home, and persecutes his brother who differs from him; the man who at home will not let his neighbor live in peace and die in his bed, because he differs from him, is a tyrant. But the victims of persecution, the men who have given up native land, and home, and forefather’s graves to those who will not tolerate their difference, and crossed the awful deep, and found out a place of refuge in the horrid wilderness, where hardships and danger are their constant attendance, those men have a right to their own way, in their own desert. They have a right to be undisturbed by sights and sounds and doings and sayings, which shock their sense of religious decency. No wandering, melancholic, or fanatic opinionist has a right to

invade their place of voluntary exile, and claim the toleration and protection of the banished society, for his own annoying peculiarity. The utmost he can demand is a right to do what they have done, quit them in peace, and seek a wilderness still more remote, where he, in his turn, may claim a right to worship God according to his own peculiarity. "But the puritans were cruel, and hung persons charged with witchcraft;" and what should we do? If we honestly believed, as they honestly believed, that the wretched victims of these delusions, were in personal league with the enemy of man; if we saw the incarnate principle of Evil where they saw it; if the state of philosophy, of public sentiment, of popular theology, was to us what it was to them, and we believed ourselves to be fighting a perilous battle, amidst the flashing fires of the opening pit; are we quite sure, that we should go into the ghastly contest, with soft and elegant phrases on our lips, and mild and placid affections in our bosoms? No, no. Let it suffice us to be ourselves tolerant and merciful. Let us be content with our own liberality; our own abhorrence of persecution, which in us would be our crime; but let us not judge great and honored names of other days, by a standard either of opinion or duty, which does not apply to their age, their circumstances, or their vocation. Do not let us quarrel with the noble and massy edifice, because it was the work of successive generations; because it did not rise like an exhalation from the soil; because they who laid the foundation did not carry up the head-stone. Let us not murmur at the oak, because it did not shoot up from the acorn like a mushroom, in a single night. Let us not impeach the wisdom of our forefathers for not bringing to perfection, in a day, the system of social institutions, which required for its perfection that it should not be the work of a day; which required precisely, more than every thing else, the operation of successive years, the seasoning of long time, the discipline of experience, the rectification of errors by their results, the preparation for one stage of advancement in the training of a former stage, the enthusiasm caught from prophetic glimpses of a gradually unfolding future.

But it is more than time, to revert to Mr. Upham's biography of Vane, and it is no exaggerated praise to pronounce it a production of the most distinguished excellence. The character of Vane, to which full justice had never before been done, is conceived in all its dignity, originality, and spirit. In turning

the pages, we pass through not a dry accumulation of dates and facts, but through the successive passages of a real life ; the strong and significant manifestations of a decided character, skilfully drawn. We take for granted that almost every one, who peruses this volume, will admit that he has acquired much valuable knowledge, which he did not before possess, of a great and strangely undervalued benefactor of mankind. This result is produced, by the great diligence employed by Mr. Upham, in exploring and collecting the authorities, particularly as contained in the works of Vane himself ; by the penetration, with which he has seized and harmonized the traits of the character portrayed ; and above all by the strong sympathy, which animates the biographer with the lofty, varied, and tragic fortunes of his hero.

It is impossible to bring into an analysis the entire contents of the life of Vane, forming as it does the chief part of the volume before us. Our only object is to give a general conception of its character ; and adequate specimens of the mode in which it is executed.

Emigrating to America at the age of twenty-four, and chosen to the chief magistracy of the colony of Massachusetts, the following year, the active life of Vane, of course, commenced here. The events of his brief administration are related with spirit and judgment. It was distracted by the Antinomian controversy, of which Mr. Upham has given a very clear and philosophical account. In this part of the subject, Mr. Upham introduces the following sound and ingenious remarks on the topic, on which we have ourselves just hazarded a few observations.

“It has often been remarked that our fathers were guilty of great inconsistency in persecuting the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, the Quakers, and others, inasmuch as they settled the country in order to secure themselves from persecution. They are often reproached as having contended manfully for the rights of conscience when they were themselves sufferers, and as then turning against others and violating their rights of conscience, so soon as they had the power and the opportunity to do it. But the remark and the reproach are equally founded in error. It was for religious liberty *in a peculiar sense*, that our fathers contended, and they were faithful to the cause *as they understood it*. The true principle of religious liberty, in its wide and full comprehension, had never dawned upon their minds, and was never maintained by them.

“ In their own country they were oppressed and in various ways afflicted in the exercise of their consciences, and in the expression and enjoyment of their own religious principles and way of worship. They saw no prospect of a remedy, because it was then universally supposed, that, in order to live in peace and liberty, Christians must agree in sentiment and speculation. Such an agreement was manifestly impossible in the old world. They were therefore led to conceive the plan of withdrawing from Christendom into a wilderness beyond the ocean, where, without disturbing others, they themselves might enjoy ‘ freedom to worship God.’ It did not occur to their imaginations, that any, besides those who sympathized with them in views and feelings, would voluntarily join them in encountering the perils of the deep, and the sufferings of a new settlement, on a foreign and savage shore. It was their solemn and most sacred purpose to rear up their children in the faith they cherished ; and they rejoiced in having, as they thought, devised a scheme of society, in which, far removed from all who differed from them, they might enjoy their own institutions and profess their own principles, without giving or suffering molestation, and free from all division or dissent.

“ Such was the theory upon which New England was planted. It was, as the event has abundantly proved, visionary and impracticable. Without considering the difficulty of excluding persons of discordant opinions, coming from abroad, it was utterly in vain to attempt to bring any system of education to bear with such complete effect upon a whole people as to prevent difference of opinion among their descendants. It was however a beautiful vision, and, upon the whole, very creditable to those who indulged it. While we cannot lament that it failed of being realized, it is impossible not to sympathize with our fathers in the disappointment they so bitterly experienced, when, after all their sacrifices, and toils, and privations, and sufferings, and before they had got comfortably settled in their new abode, they discovered, to their amazement, that they had not escaped the differences and dissensions which they so much dreaded. It seemed hard, that, after having left Christendom, country, and home itself, and effected a lodgment in a far-off wilderness, where their only hope was a peaceful harmony of opinion, beyond the reach of oppression, and rescued from all temptation to oppress, — it was indeed hard to be pursued and tormented by those very disputes, which they had sacrificed their very all to avoid. It ought not to be wondered at, as a strange or inconsistent thing, that they used every effort to drive from their territory those who advocated discordant opinions, and that they employed every device to prevent their introduction. In so doing they did not violate, but on the contrary fully acted out the principles, upon which

they emigrated to America, and planted the colony. The law to which we have just referred was but an expression of those principles, and indicated the only probable policy by which they could be developed and preserved. It was regarded with disapprobation at the time, not because it was inconsistent with the principles of the commonwealth, but because it presented those principles in an aspect so naked and palpable, that their narrowness and deformity were more exposed to view than they had ever been before.”—pp. 147 — 150.

On his return to England, Vane was drawn at once into the vortex of affairs. Notwithstanding his known attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the puritans, his alliance was sought by the court, and he received the honor of knighthood. On the 13th of April 1640, he took his seat in parliament, as the member from Kingston-on-Hull. That parliament, being dissolved, and another (the long parliament) convened, Sir Henry Vane was again returned a member of this body, which according to Warburton, comprehended “a set of the greatest geniuses for government, that the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause.” Vane, young as he was, “from the first hour of its deliberations,” to use the words of Mr. Upham, “was one of the foremost leaders, and was destined to secure by far the brightest, purest, and most enviable fame.”

In the eighth chapter, is related the extraordinary history of Strafford’s impeachment and fate, an event in the consummation of which Sir Henry Vane was called to a singular and painful participation. The passage, however, is too long to be quoted and would suffer by abridgment. The religious character of Vane forms the subject of the ninth chapter; and the opposite opinions, of which his theological views and writings have been the subject, form no uninteresting commentary on the contrariety of human judgment and the violence of party prejudice. On this subject, Mr. Upham observes:

“But his religious character, as it shone in his daily life, will be best illustrated by tracing the history of that life. I proceed therefore to the examination of his religious views and principles. And here, again, I shall adopt the plan of quoting what his enemies and calumniators have said respecting him, and then, after presenting the actual truth to the reader, leave him to form his own conclusions.

“Anthony Wood’s view of his religious character has already been presented. Clarendon gives the following account. ‘Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion; in

which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction, and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to the time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited or unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast, and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding (which, in all matters without the verge of religion, was superior to that of most men,) that he did, at some time, believe he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.' Clarendon, in another place, expresses his wonder, that in Sir Henry's writings there was none of 'that clearness and ratiocination, in which, in discourse, he used much to excel the best of the company he kept.'

"Burnet thus describes him; 'For though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings he preached and prayed often himself, but with so peculiar a darkness, that, though I have sometimes taken pains to see if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. His friends told me, he leaned to Origen's notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of preëxistence.'

"Hume, after expressing an enthusiastic admiration of Vane's dying deportment, thus speaks of his religious writings. 'This man, so celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in business, has left some writings behind him. They treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are absolutely unintelligible. No traces of eloquence or even of common sense appear in them.'

"Nothing is more curious than the entirely different views, which discerning and discriminating minds sometimes take of the same subject. In 'The North American Review' for October, 1832, the editor (Mr. Alexander H. Everett) relates a conversation held between Sir James Mackintosh and himself, at London, in 1817. On that occasion Sir James, speaking of the English Calvinists, says; 'Sir Henry Vane was one of the most profound minds that ever existed, not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon. His works, which are theological, are extremely rare, and display astonishing powers. They are remarkable as containing the first direct assertion of the liberty of conscience.'

"Thus we see, that the writings, which to the mind of Hume were 'absolutely unintelligible,' and exhibited 'no traces of eloquence or common sense,' in the estimation of Mackintosh dis-

played 'astonishing powers,' and entitled their author to the superlative praise of being 'one of the most profound minds that ever existed!' In such a case, we must each exercise an impartial and independent, discernment, and judge for ourselves what is right." — pp. 201 — 204.

In all the transactions of the great struggle between the parliament and the Crown, Vane was a leader. He was one of the commissioners, who were sent to engage the co-operation of the Scotch, and Lord Clarendon having mentioned this circumstance adds, "therefore the others need not be named, since he was all, in any business where others were joined with him ;" and after relating the negotiation of the memorable instrument of the solemn league and covenant, he remarks of Sir Henry Vane, "there needs no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which excelled in craft and cunning, which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity." But it was not in his diplomatic successes, that the glory of his character lies. The consistency of Vane might have shielded him from the sneers of Hume and of Clarendon. The moment the designs of Cromwell were unmasked, and the freedom of Parliament invaded, Vane retired, indignant and disgusted, to private life. He was guiltless of the blood of the king, and so well known was his disapprobation of his execution, that, on the organization of the Council of State after that event, which he was with great reluctance induced to join, the proposed oath of office, which contained a clause approving the king's trial, was altered in consequence of Vane's unwillingness to take it, in that form. The following passage from this portion of the history, will convey a just and satisfactory idea of his talent for business and the energy of his mind :

"He took his seat in the Council nine days after its instalment, and immediately entered, with his accustomed energy and ability, upon the duties of the office. He continued to be in the Council from 1649 to 1653. The powers exercised by that body were very great. They were entrusted with the entire command of the military force of England and Ireland, and were authorized to raise and control a navy, and to conduct the whole administration of the country in reference both to its offensive and defensive operations in war. Sir Henry Vane was for some time President of the Council, and, as Treasurer and Commissioner for the Navy, he had almost the exclusive direction of that branch of the public

service. The foreign relations were wholly under his management. He planned and conducted the war with the United Provinces, in which Blake gathered his laurels, and won for his country the proud title of mistress of the seas; and he imparted his own patriotic and generous spirit to his countrymen by exhibiting an example of disinterested devotion to the public cause. In order to lighten the burden of the war, and to encourage the people to carry it on with vigor, he voluntarily relinquished, as has been before observed, the profits of the immensely lucrative office he held, and appropriated them to the common treasury.

"It was in this period that the genius of England, 'both in the cabinet and on the waves,' shone forth with its most resplendent lustre. The fire of liberty seemed, for a time, to burn bright and clear in every heart, and its spirit to nerve every arm. The trident was shaken from the hand of Holland. The world resounded with the fame of the Commonwealth, and every place in the empire became subject to its power. Scilly, Jersey, Guernsey, the Isle of Man, Virginia, and Barbadoes, one after another, all submitted.

"But it was not without a desperate struggle that the Dutch surrendered their supremacy on the ocean. For more than three years the contest continued, and a series of naval engagements took place, which for the courage and resolution manifested on both sides, have never been surpassed. As the war advanced, the Dutch and English increased their naval armaments, and seemed to gather strength from exhaustion. In November, 1652, Van Tromp, after immense preparations, in which the power of Holland was strained to the utmost, took the sea with a fleet of more than seventy ships and falling in with Blake in the Downs, a most sanguinary and long protracted action took place. They fought as though they felt that the fate of both nations was suspended on the issue. Blake's fleet was much less numerous than that of Van Tromp. After maintaining the conflict from noon until night, the English admiral retired, with considerable loss, up the river, and the victorious Hollander rode master of the ocean, and paraded his fleet up and down the English channel with a broom fixed to his mast-head, thus vaunting that he had swept his enemy from the sea.

"The effect of this defeat was felt throughout England, as a deep misfortune. The national pride was wounded, and a general gloom and despondency pervaded the people. It was, of course, particularly disastrous to Sir Henry Vane, as he had promoted and conducted the war, which seemed to have been brought to so inglorious a close. It was supposed that the power of Britain was permanently broken down, and the period was commonly spoken of, at the time, 'as the present day of England's adversity by her wars with Holland.'

"But Vane was not disheartened. His energy rose with the difficulties of his position. The battle was fought on the 29th of November. He reported the estimates of the expenses of the navy immediately to the House. On the 4th of December it was resolved, that one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per month should be appropriated to the support of the armaments by land and sea, of which forty thousand were for the navy. The next point was, to raise the revenue to meet such an appropriation ; and the genius of Vane was not for a moment at a loss to devise the means. On the 6th of December a bill was introduced and read a first and second time, to sell Windsor Park, Hampton Court, Hyde Park, the Royal Park at Greenwich, Enfield Castle, and Somerset House, the proceeds of the whole to be for the use of the navy ; and, by the beginning of February, Blake put to sea with eighty ships of war, and soon fell in with Tromp, at the head of a squadron of equal size, convoying two hundred merchantmen. A battle commenced on the 18th of February, off the Isle of Portland, which, for the weight of the armaments engaged, the determined bravery of the combatants, the length of time during which it lasted, and the brilliancy of its results, far transcended every previous naval action on record, and, all things considered, may safely be said not to have been surpassed since. The battle raged incessantly for three days. The power of England at length prevailed. The Dutch lost seventeen or eighteen of their ships of war, and seventy of their merchantmen. From that moment to the present day, the supremacy of England, as a naval power, has never been, to any decisive extent, reduced or shaken.

"But the genius of Sir Henry Vane was not confined to the conduct of foreign wars, brilliant and wonderful as was its exercise in that department. At this period of his life his labors were so various, so complicated, and so constant, that they were regarded as almost incredible. From an early hour in the morning until late at night, he was every moment engaged in the actual transaction of business. In May, 1649, he had been placed at the head of a committee of which Ireton and Algernon Sydney were members, to consider the state of the Representation ; and, after the death of the King, and when the Commonwealth had become established, he reported a bill for REFORM in Parliament, which continued for a long time to engage the attention of the House whenever they had the necessary leisure to deliberate upon so important a measure. Every Wednesday was set apart for the discussion of its details, and there was good reason to indulge the hope that the bill would finally pass. The plan of the reform was this. The House was to consist of four hundred members, the small boroughs were to be disfranchised, the elective privilege was to be

secured equally to persons of all religious persuasions, and the rights of the people were carefully guarded against corruption and oppression.

"It was while Sir Henry Vane was thus conducting operations, which were covering the name of England with glory, and securing to her the position of the first commercial nation and naval power in the world, and at the same time contriving and constructing a just, and equal, and free government for her people, that his career of usefulness and honor arrested the attention of the great POET OF LIBERTY. John Milton addressed to him the following just tribute of praise.

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
The fierce Epirot and the African bold,
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow states hard to be spelled;
Then to advise how war may best upheld
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
In all her equipage; besides to know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learnt, which few have done;
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."

pp. 231 — 236.

The scene of the final dissolution of the long parliament, and of Cromwell's frantic behavior on that occasion, is finely told by Mr. Upham. On the consummation of the despotic designs of Cromwell in this wild act, Vane once more sought the retirement of his patrimonial seat, Raby Castle, and solaced himself with the composition of his principal theological work, "The Retired Man's Meditations," a quarto volume of four hundred pages. He also published, "A Letter from a True and Lawful Member of Parliament to one of the Lords of his Highness's Council." About this period Cromwell issued a declaration, calling upon the people to observe a general fast, "for the purpose of applying themselves to the Lord, to discover the Achan who had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted kingdoms." By this and other expressions, an invitation was seemingly given to all so disposed, to discuss the situation of affairs. Vane took the Protector at his word, and produced "The Healing Question," which Mr. Upham pronounces "one of the most remarkable political papers ever written." "It contains," continues Mr. Upham, "the great principles of civil

and religious liberty, in a complete exposition, and lays down the rules to be observed in constructing a civil government. It develops and illustrates, and perhaps it may with safety be said, for the first time, the idea of a written constitution ; or body of fundamental law, by which the government itself is to be controled, restrained, and limited." The general strain of this pamphlet was, of course, entirely adverse to the usurpation of Cromwell, and the views and judgment of the high-minded and courageous author were expressed, at its close, with too much directness to be mistaken. For this publication, he was peremptorily summoned before the council. He acknowledged without scruple the authorship of the work, and was ordered to give bonds in five thousand pounds, "to do nothing to the prejudice of the present government and the peace of the Commonwealth, or to stand committed." He refused to give the proposed security, boldly denied the legality of the proceedings against him, and rebuked the Protector for deserting the cause of liberty. The consequence was his imprisonment in Carisbroke Castle, in the isle of Wight. His confinement was of short duration, but was followed by the more insidious and vexatious policy of subjecting his estate to ruinous litigation and vexatious suits, conjured up to strip him of his possessions. But none of these things moved him.

The death of Cromwell brought about a new crisis in affairs. A new parliament was summoned. Those interested in the continuance of the system established by the Protector desired to perpetuate it through the instrumentality of his son. Measures were in train to effect this object, and no part of Vane's eventful career reflects higher honor on his memory, than the part then taken by him.

"Those, whose desire it was to have the government continue under the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, considered it an object of the greatest possible importance to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane to the ensuing Parliament ; and they resorted to the most extraordinary and extreme measures to keep him out. He offered himself at Kingston upon Hull, of which place he claimed, as of right, to be considered the lawful representative, having sat as such in the Long Parliament. His right was confirmed by the electors. He was re-chosen by a full majority of their votes ; but the managers of the election, being creatures of Richard's party, in defiance of justice and public sentiment, gave the certificate of election to another. Sir Henry was determined

not to be defeated, by such means; he, therefore, proceeded to Bristol, entered the canvass, and received a majority of the votes. Here, also, the same bold and high-handed outrage was committed by the officers; and others whose names stood below his on the poll-books were declared to be elected. He still persevered and was finally returned from Whitchurch in Hampshire.

“On the opening of the Parliament it was proposed that their first proceeding should be to confirm the government of Richard, and to sanction the House of Peers which his father had created. The republican party opposed these propositions from the first, and, although they were in a minority, finally succeeded. Their measures were taken with the skill and spirit for which their leaders were so preëminently distinguished. The consultations of the party were generally held at Sir Henry Vane’s house, near Charing Cross, and he managed the debates, on their behalf, in the House of Commons. In opposing the further continuance of Cromwell’s House of Peers, he reminded the Commons of their former protestations against the bishops holding seats in the upper House, during the royal government, the ground then taken having been that bishops, receiving their appointments from the Crown, would naturally be nothing better than the instruments of the King; and he proved that the argument was good also against the whole House of Lords as such, they all having been raised to the peerage by the late Protector, and being inclined therefore to sustain the government of his son, with implicit and servile obedience.

“While the republicans were advancing these doctrines in the lower House, the members of the other House, and the principal military leaders, were endeavoring to resist their measures, and defeat their designs. And, in order to prevent the results, which might be apprehended in case the discussion continued much longer, a petition was drawn up by the leading officers of the army, and forwarded, through the hands of Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, and Desborough, his uncle, to Richard, requesting him to dissolve the Parliament, and intimating very plainly, that, if he did not do so without delay, the army would proceed to deprive him of his power, and assume to themselves the whole government of the country. Richard accordingly despatched the Keeper of the Seal, as he was bidden, to dissolve the Parliament; but, having gotten information of the design, the House determined not to be dissolved, ordered their doors to be closed, and the gentleman usher of the black rod was not permitted to enter. It was on this occasion, that Sir Henry Vane delivered a speech which produced an overwhelming effect upon the House and nation, and entirely demolished the power of the Protector. It has fortunately been preserved, and is now presented entire to the reader. When it is

remembered, that this speech was addressed to a House in which Sir Henry was in a minority, that it was spoken almost within the hearing of Richard Cromwell himself, when he was in possession of the whole power of the country, and at a moment when he was backed by the army, and acting in compliance with the will of its generals, we can in some degree appreciate the courage of the speaker, and the effect upon the House of his fearless eloquence.

“ ‘ Mr. Speaker,

“ ‘ Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as the English, at this time, have done. They have, by the help of Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuart, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man amongst us, who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare attempt the ravishing from us that freedom, which has cost us so much blood and so much labor. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are fallen into the error of those, who poisoned the Emperor Titus, to make room for Domitian, who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero.

“ ‘ I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans, in those days, were buried in lewdness and luxury; whereas the people of England are now renowned, all over the world, for their great virtue and discipline; and yet suffer an idiot, without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition, to have dominion in a country of liberty.

“ ‘ One could bear a little with *Oliver* Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general.

“ ‘ But as for *Richard* Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet, we must recognise this man as our king, under the style of Protector!—a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master.’ ”

“This impetuous torrent swept away every thing before it. Oration, genius, and the spirit of liberty never achieved a more complete triumph. It was signal and decisive, instantaneous and irresistible. It broke at once and for ever, the power of Richard and his party, and the control of the country again passed into the hands of the republicans. Richard immediately abdicated the Protectorate, having at the same time issued a Proclamation dissolving the Parliament; and the general voice of the country was so clearly and strongly uttered, that the military factions bowed to its demand, and the famous Long Parliament which Oliver Cromwell had dispersed in 1653, was once more summoned to assemble, by a declaration from a council of officers dated on the 6th of May, 1659.” — pp. 289 — 294.

On the downfall of Richard Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane was appointed one of the Council, to which supreme power was delegated. He was of course active, conscientious, and disinterested in his attempts to restore and constitute the State, but other events were in train. Monk's splendid treachery was consummated, and Charles the Second brought in.

Vane was one of the first victims. At first secluded in his dwelling-house, and for a short time removed to the Tower, he was afterward confined for two years, in a fortress, on one of the isles of Scilly. During his imprisonment he occupied his mind with the noble studies of theology and philosophy, and composed several elaborate works. The titles of these productions, with an account of the most considerable of them, are contained in the fifteenth chapter of the work before us. Mr. Upham deserves great credit, for the diligence, with which he has studied the writings of Vane. They are found collected in none of our public or private libraries; and it is only by great pains that they could have been procured from England, for the composition of the present work. A beautiful and pathetic letter to his wife will be found at the close of the chapter, but our limits do not allow us to cite it.

On the 7th of March, 1662, Sir Henry Vane was removed to the Tower of London, and the grand jury, having found a bill against him, he was arraigned on a charge of treason, the 2d of June following. His trial was conducted with that disregard of the principles of justice, and that contempt of all the bulwarks, which the law of England has thrown round the life of the accused citizen, which will render the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second infamous, even after their other

titles to the execration of honest men, shall be forgotten. And yet, unprincipled as was the conduct of the court, it whitens into purity, compared with the meanness and treachery of the king, who broke the solemn stipulation, into which he had entered, on the passage of the indemnity bill, to spare the blood of Vane.

The closing scene of his life, his demeanor before the Court, and his last noble stand, when brought up to receive sentence ; his intercourse with his friends and family in the Tower, his prayers, his valedictions, his address to the people on the scaffold, and his deportment in the last trying moment, form a narrative of the most pathetic and thrilling interest. It is scarcely surpassed by the death of Socrates. When his wife and children left him for the last time, he was heard to say, "There is still some flesh remaining yet ; but I must cast it behind me, and press forward to my father."

The following account of his removal from the prison to the scaffold seems, says Mr. Upham, to have been written by an eye-witness.

" "One of the sheriff's men came and told him, there must be a sled ; to which Sir Henry replied, "Any way, how they please, for I long to be at home, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is best of all." He went very cheerfully and readily down the stairs from his chamber, and seated himself on the sled ; (friends and servants standing about him ;) then he was forthwith drawn away towards the scaffold. As he went, some in the Tower, prisoners as well as others, spake to him, praying the Lord to go with him. And after he was out of the Tower, from the tops of houses and out of windows the people used such means and gestures as might best discover at a distance their respect and love towards him, crying aloud, "The Lord go with you, the great God of heaven and earth appear in you and for you ;" whereof he took what notice he was capable of in those circumstances, in a cheerful manner accepting their respect, putting off his hat and bowing to them. Being asked several times, how he did, by some about him, he answered, "Never better in all my life." Another replied, "How should he do ill, that suffers for so glorious a cause ?" To which a tall man in black said, "Many have suffered for a better cause ;" "And many for a worse," said Sir Henry ; "and when they come to seal their *better cause* (as you call it) with their blood, as I am now going to seal mine, may they not find themselves deceived ; and as to this cause," continued he, "it hath given life in death, to all the owners of it, and sufferers for it."

“ ‘Being passed within the rails on Tower Hill, there were many loud exclamations of the people, crying out, “The Lord Jesus go with your dear soul,” &c. One told him, that was the most glorious seat he ever sate on; he answered, “It is so indeed,” and he rejoiced exceedingly.

“ ‘Being come to the scaffold, he cheerfully ascends, and being up, after the crowd on the scaffold was broken in two pieces, to make way for him, he showed himself to the people on the front of the scaffold, with that noble and Christian-like deportment, that he rather seemed a looker-on, than the person concerned in the execution. Insomuch that it was difficult to persuade many of the people that he was the prisoner. But when they knew that the gentleman in the black suit and cloak, with a scarlet silk waistcoat (the victorious color,) showing itself at the breast, was the prisoner, they admired that noble and great presence he appeared with. “How cheerful he is!” said some; “He does not look like a dying man,” said others; with many like speeches, as astonished with that strange appearance he shined forth in.

“ ‘Then, (silence being commanded by the sheriff,) lifting up his hands and eyes towards heaven, and then resting his hands upon the rails, and taking a very serious, composed, and majestic view of the great multitude about him, he spake as followeth.

“Gentlemen, fellow countrymen, and Christians,

“ ‘When Mr. Sheriff came to me this morning, and told me he had received a command from the king, that I should say nothing reflecting upon his Majesty or the Government, I answered that I should confine and order my speech, as near as I could, so as to be least offensive, saving my faithfulness to the trust reposed in me, which I must ever discharge with a good conscience unto death; for I ever valued a man, according to his faithfulness to the trust reposed in him, even on his Majesty’s behalf, in the late controversy. And if you dare trust my discretion, Mr. Sheriff, I shall do nothing but which becomes a good Christian and an Englishman; and so I hope I shall be civilly dealt with.

“ ‘When Mr. Sheriff’s chaplain came to me last night about twelve of the clock, to bring me, as he called it, the fatal message of death, it pleased the Lord to bring that scripture to my mind, in the third of Zachary, to intimate to me, that he was now taking away my filthy garments, causing mine iniquities to pass from me, with intention to give me change of raiment, and that my mortal should put on immortality.

“ ‘I suppose you may wonder when I shall tell you, that I am not brought hither according to any known law of the land. It is true, I have been before a court of justice, (and am now going to appear before a greater tribunal, where I am to give an account of all my actions.) Under their sentence I stand here at this

time. When I was before them, I could not have the liberty and privilege of an Englishman, the grounds, reasons, and causes of the actings I was charged with, duly considered. I therefore desired the judges, that they would set their seals to my bill of exceptions. I pressed hard for it again and again, as the right of myself and every freeborn Englishman, by the law of the land; but was finally denied it.'

" 'At this point, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, whose duty did not call him to the scaffold, and who attended the execution, undoubtedly for no other purpose than to prevent any dangerous impression being made by the prisoner, interrupted him, saying, in a most furious manner, which gave great dissatisfaction, even to the loyalists who were present, 'Sir, you must not go on thus, you must not rail at the judges; it is a lie, and I am here to testify that it is a lie.'"

" 'Sir Henry replied, "God will judge between you and me in this matter. I speak but matter of fact, and cannot you bear that? 'Tis evident the judges have refused to sign my bill of exceptions." The trumpeters were then ordered to approach nearer to the prisoner and blow in his face to prevent his being heard, at which Sir Henry lifting up his hand, and then laying it on his breast, said, "What mean you, gentlemen? Is this your usage of me? Did you use all the rest so? I had even done (as to that,) could you have been patient; but seeing you cannot hear it, I shall only say this, that, whereas the judges have refused to seal that with their hands, that they have done, I am come to seal that, with my blood, that I have done.'"

" 'Sir Henry then proceeded briefly to relate the history of his life. After alluding to his birth and education, he referred, particularly, to his early youth, when "he was inclined to the vanities of this world," a course which was thought "the only means of accomplishing a gentleman." He then spoke of his conversion to a life of virtue and piety in the following beautiful and admirable manner.

" 'When my conscience was thus awakened, I found my former course to be disloyalty to God, profaneness, and a way of sin and death, which I did with tears and bitterness bewail, as I had cause to do. Since that foundation of repentance laid in me, through grace I have been kept steadfast, desiring to walk in all good conscience towards God, and towards men, according to the best light and understanding God gave me. For this, I was willing to turn my back upon my estate, expose myself to hazards in foreign parts; yea, nothing seemed difficult to me, so I might preserve faith and a good conscience, which I prefer before all things; and do earnestly persuade all people, rather to suffer the highest contradictions from men, than disobey God by con-

tradicting the light of their own conscience. In this it is I stand with so much comfort and boldness before you all, this day, and upon this occasion ; being assured that I shall at last sit down in glory with Christ, at his right hand.

“ ‘ I stand here this day, to resign up my spirit into the hands of that God that gave it me. Death is but a little word, but ’tis a great work to die. It is to be but once done, and after this cometh the judgment, even the judgment of the great God, which it concerns us all to prepare for. And by this act, I do receive a discharge, once for all, out of prison, even the prison of the mortal body also, which to a true Christian is a burdensome weight.

“ ‘ In all respects, wherein I have been concerned and engaged as to the public, my design hath been to accomplish good things for these nations.’

“ Then, lifting up his eyes and spreading aloft his hands, he made this solemn declaration, ‘ I do here appeal to the God of heaven, and all this assembly, or any other persons, to show wherein I have defiled my hands with any man’s blood or estate, or that I have sought myself in any public capacity or place I have been in.’

“ As might have been expected, and as the government had most seriously apprehended, a great impression had by this time been made by the prisoner upon the vast multitude that surrounded him. The people remembered his career of inflexible virtue and patriotism. They had been roused to indignation by the treatment he had received at the hands of Cromwell, and of the restored monarch. His trial had revived the memory of his services and sufferings. The fame of his glorious defence had rung far and wide through the city and nation. The enthusiasm with which he had been welcomed by weeping and admiring thousands as he passed from prison to Tower Hill ; the sight of that noble countenance ; the serene, and calm, and almost divine composure of his deportment ; his visible triumph over the fear of death and the malice of his enemies, all these influences, brought at once to bear upon their minds, and concentrated and heightened by the powers of an eloquence that was the wonder of his cotemporaries, had produced an effect, which, it was evident, could not, with safety to the government, be permitted to be wrought any higher.

“ When Sir Henry, therefore, had commenced another sentence after the appeal quoted above, the trumpets were again sounded. The sheriff attempted to catch a paper from his hands. “ Sir John Robinson, seeing some persons taking minutes of the speech, ordered their reports to be destroyed. Six note-books

were delivered up to the officers. In this scene of confusion, Sir Henry preserved his usual firmness, patience, and dignity of manner, merely remarking that it was hard he might not be suffered to speak; 'but,' said he, 'my usage from man is no harder than was my Lord and Master's; and all that will live his life, in these times, must expect hard dealing from the worldly spirit.' The trumpets were again blown, and Sir John Robinson, with two or three others, rushed upon the prisoner and endeavored to seize his papers. He, however, kept them off from his person, and after a while, tearing the papers himself, handed the remnants to one of his friends, from whom they were forcibly taken. The officers then attempted to thrust their hands into the prisoner's pockets, and a scene of disorder and brutal violence occurred upon the scaffold, which filled the multitude of all parties with horror and indignation. Such was the bearing of Sir Henry, however, that all were loud in the admiration of it; and in the midst of the tumult a zealous loyalist was heard to exclaim, in terms which to him were expressive of the highest possible commendation, 'He dies like a prince.'

"Finding that it was determined that he should not be heard, and unwilling to have the few moments of life broken in upon by such disagreeable incidents, he desisted from all further attempts to address the people, merely remarking, 'It is a bad cause, which cannot bear the words of a dying man.' " — pp. 357—366.

When order and silence had been restored, he commenced his more immediate preparation for death by offering a prayer of the most sublime elevation and truly evangelical spirit. This being finished, the great sacrifice was consummated.

"At the conclusion of the prayer, and when his garments had been adjusted to receive the stroke, he looked up, and said, 'I bless the Lord, who hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his name. Blessed be the Lord, that I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day. I bless the Lord, that I have not deserted the righteous cause, for which I suffer.'

"As he bowed his head to the block, he uttered these words, 'Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of man, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country.' In an instant, and at a single blow, the executioner discharged his office.

"Thus fell Sir Henry Vane. In his death the first age of English liberty reached its termination. It commenced, and it closed, in blood. Lord Strafford was the earliest victim of the incensed spirit of liberty as it entered upon the triumphant possession of the government; and Vane was the last great sacrifice offered

up to the vengeance of restored despotism. They perished on the same scaffold." — p. 370.

We must pass over the closing eloquent chapter of the work before us, and bring our remarks to a conclusion. Mr. Upham will receive the grateful acknowledgments of the friends of constitutional liberty for this *Life of Vane*. It is truly a fortunate incident, that his brief residence in this country should thus have given him a hold on the affections of the student of American history. It is doubtful whether his life could have been written, with equal enthusiasm and fondness, in England. His memory, it is true, has found eloquent vindicators there ; but a portion of their zeal is required to roll off from his name the load of a mighty prejudice. Nor is it possible that in any country but this, full justice can be done to the truth and depth of Vane's conceptions ; ideas are yet deemed chimerical in England, which may be found plainly indicated, often fully set forth, in the writings of Vane, and which have been reduced to settled practice in America. Thus, on the subject of constituting a government ; he states that it should be done by a *FULL CONVENTION* of the People. The boldest radical reformer has not, that we know, comprehended the simplicity, the justice, the efficacy of this conception, in which the whole science of free constitutional government is wrapped up. With all that is boldly, rationally, and patriotically said, in England, of a government existing by and for the people, it has escaped us, if in either house of parliament, by reformer or agitator, radical or whig, a glimpse has yet been caught of the only way, in which a free government can possibly be constituted, with any pretence to a solid basis in the consent of the governed, to wit, *the act of the people, in convention assembled* ; an idea which, if conceived in England, is kept out of sight, as another name for the wildest form of political chaos, an unsettling of all the elements of society ; but which our experience has so often and so amply shown to be the great *irenicon* of agitated states. To this mode of forming a constitution Vane alludes in terms.

His biography by Mr. Upham will make this extraordinary man better known. As there will be many readers, both in England and this country, who will wish to possess it in a separate form, we would suggest the expediency of a new edition, in which it should appear by itself. In that shape it will com-

pose a volume of rare interest, reflecting credit alike on its author, and the illustrious name which he has first effectually rescued from obloquy, misconception and forgetfulness.

ART. VI. — *Richard Lovell Edgeworth.*

Practical Education. By MARIA EDGEWORTH and RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH. New York. 1835.

THE reprint in this country of this useful and popular work, affords us an opportunity to say something of Mr. Edgeworth, the father of the celebrated writer. This is the description by which he is generally known. This of itself is no small distinction, to have aided in forming a mind to which the world has been so much indebted; and not only so, but to have borne a part in those efforts by which her fame is established; for an age that ascribes to education almost unbounded power, must allow that the success of the scholar affords strong presumptive evidence in favor of the teacher and his system. If there were any doubt as to his agency in this respect, it is removed by the express testimony of his daughter, who is too sagacious to claim for him more than he could rightfully demand. She evidently considers herself under obligation to her father, not only for the formation of those intellectual habits which have led to her brilliant success, but for a large and efficient share in the compositions of her best works. She is a good, if not impartial witness; if there were no other proofs of his merits, this alone would to our minds be clear and convincing.

But however plain it may be that a teacher has a right to be honored for the ability and success of the scholar whom it has been the business of his life to form, such honor is not apt to be given, we mean by public applause, though private gratitude be ever so warm in its acknowledgment. It is always found that an illustrious name eclipses other distinguished names beside it; instead of shining in its brightness, they are exceedingly apt to be lost in its light. In ordinary associations there is no help for this unequal distribution of favor; and the secondary party must bear neglect as he may; but in a case like this before us, a father may be supposed, so far from lamenting this circumstance, to take as much pride and de